

Message Text

SECRET

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43

ACTION SS-25

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1245

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION BERLIN

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S E C R E T GENEVA 1600

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES --
SOVIET ATTITUDE

REF: A) STATE 47639; B) LONDON 3571

1. DEPARTMENT INSTRUCTION ON THIS SUBJECT NOTES THAT
RETENTION OF TERM "RESPONSIBILITIES" IN TEXT MAY WELL BE
NECESSARY TO RETAIN SOVIET INTEREST IN QRR EXERCISE
(REF A, PARA 5), WHILE UK ALSO SEEMS CONCERNED ABOUT
POSSIBLE LOSS OF SOVIET SUPPORT FOR QRR LANGUAGE (REF B,
PARA 3).

2. IN OUR VIEW, THESE CONCERNS ARE MISPLACED. QRR
TEXT, AFTER ALL, WAS A WESTERN, NOT A SOVIET PROPOSAL.
WHEN TEXT WAS SHOWN TO SOVIETS, THEY IMMEDIATELY SAW
THE PROSPECT OF A WINDFALL FOR THEMSELVES BECAUSE OF
BREZHNEV DOCTRINE IMPLICATIONS OF QRR LANGUAGE. THEY

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THEREUPON CLASPED THE TEXT TO THEIR BOSOM (AND WELL-

NIGH SMOTHERED IT IN THE PROCESS). BUT HALF A WIND-FALL -- OR EVEN A QUARTER -- IS BETTER THAN NONE, AND WE BELIEVE SOVIETS WILL ULTIMATELY ACCEPT WHATEVER LANGUAGE IS SATISFACTORY TO THE WESTERN FOUR, THE NEUTRALS, AND OTHERS. THIS EVALUATION IS SHARED BY BONN GROUP DELEGATIONS HERE.

3. MOREOVER, SOVIETS WILL HAVE A FUNDAMENTAL INTEREST IN A SATISFACTORY QRR TEXT, WHATEVER ITS PRECISE LANGUAGE, IF SUCH A TEXT IS NECESSARY TO CONCLUDE STAGE II. IF, FOR EXAMPLE, IT REMAINS OUR POSITION THAT WE MUST HAVE ADEQUATE QRR LANGUAGE OR, FAILING THAT, EXPRESS REFERENCES TO THE UN CHARTER IN THE RELEVANT OPERATIVE SECTIONS OF THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATIONS AND THE ROMANIAN PAPER ON NON-USE OF FORCE -- SOMETHING THAT IS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE ROMANIANS AND PROBABLY ALSO TO THE FRG AND OTHERS -- THE SOVIETS WILL HAVE A STRONG INCENTIVE TO HELP US ON THE QRR TEXT TO AVOID AN IMPASS THAT COULD HOLD UP THE CONFERENCE FOR A LONG TIME. DALE

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